is given. All Terena children are welcome at the Protestant school irrespective of the religious faith of their parents. Children receive medical attention if they are ill and report their illness to the missionaries. Boys and girls attend school together, the teachers insisting that each child be dressed in clean clothing. Outside of being kept in after school, there is no other form of punishment.

The official Government school has an attendance of about 37 students. The wife of the manager of the Post acts as a teacher, with a Brazilian girl as an assistant. The curriculum is the same as at the Protestant school. The Terena prefer to send their children to the Protestant school because they believe they learn more and will finish the 4-year course of instruction. Pupils tend to leave the Government school as soon as they are able to read and write a little. The Protestant school also gives prizes to good students, consisting of articles of clothing and books.

The Protestant missionaries have established schools in all the larger Terena villages. At Ipegue there is a school with 80 pupils and at Moreira a school with 50 pupils. The missionaries say that Terena children are industrious and learn rather quickly. Yet, they say that no Terena student has gone beyond the 4 years, even when they have an opportunity in some of the neighboring towns. Even at that, the present status of education among the Terena compares well with the prevalent illiteracy in the rural areas of Brazil.

RELIGION

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The old Terena believed in a "High God," *Itukoviche*, in the culture hero twins, *Yúrikoyuvakái*, and in such evil spirits as *Vanónu*, *Voropí*, and *Hihiaiuné*. Insofar as all things were believed to have a soul the Terena can be said to have believed in animism. Magic was based on the belief that certain plants, animals, and inanimate objects possessed powers which could be used to bring about good or evil results. Shamanism was highly developed and the spirits of dead shamans were used by living shamans to influence the affairs of men. Ghosts of the dead were feared, as they were believed to cause death if permitted

to return to the village or otherwise get into contact with the living. 775

Beyond serving as a means for accounting for the existence of the world, the "High God," *Itukoviche*, was not significant. It may even turn out that the belief in a "High God" is due to Christian influence. There appear to be no myths or rituals connected with *Itukoviche*. The really important supernatural beings were the twin culture heroes, *Yúrikoyuvakái*. By reference to these twins the Terena explain their origin and the origin of agriculture, fire, and other elements of their culture. The Terena have a number of myths about the origin and exploits of the twin culture heroes. One version expresses the origin of *Yúrikoyuvakái* as follows: 776 773 776 773 539

In the beginning *Yúrikoyuvakái* was just one being. He lived with his sister *Livéchechevéna*. When his sister planted a garden, *Yúrikoyuvakái* stole the fruits. *Livéchechevéna* then became very angry and cut *Yúrikoyuvakái* in two, both halves later growing into the twins.

Another version states that the twins originated from a centipede:

Yúrikoyuvakái was a centipede who lived with his mother. He made his mother very angry because he wanted to follow her into the fields every day. One day she became so angry that she cut him in two. The two halves grew up into twins.

The Terena claim that everything they possessed in the past was received from the twin culture heroes. One myth expresses the origin of the Terena as follows:

In the beginning there were the twins *Yúrikoyuvakái*. They both had the same name. They used to walk around the world setting traps to catch birds. One morning they did not find a bird in the trap but only the remains of a bird. As some one was stealing their birds the twins decided to set a watch over the trap. They ordered the lizard to watch the trap. But the lizard was lazy and careless and did not see who was stealing the birds. When the twins saw that the trap was empty, they questioned the lizard who could not answer. The twins then became very angry and threw the lizard against a tree, and that is why lizards live in trees even today. The twins then ordered a little bird, "bemtevi," to watch the trap. Next morning the twins found the trap empty and when they questioned "bemtevi" about who had stolen the bird, he flew up and down over a bunch of grass and chirped, "This is the door to the place from where the people came who robbed your trap." Then the twins pulled out the bunch of grass and found a door, and when they opened the door, they found a hole in the ground full of Indians.

The twins ordered the Indians to come out. They all came out, not one remaining in the hole. The Indians

had their mouths open, but they could not speak, so the twins gave them a language and put them into a place where they could live. But the Indians had no fire and shivered with cold. The twins then ordered the hare to go and fetch fire which at this time was kept by *Takeoré*. *Takeoré* refused to give it to the hare and stood over the fire with open legs. The hare took a bean, *hicoé*, and threw it into the fire and when the bean burst *Takeoré* was frightened so badly that the hare was able to steal a live coal and run away. But *Takeoré* pursued the hare and when he almost caught him, the hare hid in a hollow tree. *Takeoré* thrust a stick into the hole to kill the hare. The hare cut his foot and let the blood run over the stick. When *Takeoré* saw the blood he believed that the hare was dead and went away. The hare then picked up the live coal, ran to the Indians and threw the coal into a field which caught on fire. The Indians now had fire and were warm.

The Indians were hungry but they had no tools and did not know how to obtain food. The twins then gave the Indians all their tools. To the men *Yúrikoyuvakái* gave the ax, *povóoti;* the digging stick, *ilomé'i;* the knife, *piritau;* the sickle, *yopilokóti;* the war club, *puló'oi;* and the bow, *shekié;* arrows, *shumé;* and the spear, *suiké*. To the women the twins gave the spindle, *hopáe*. *Yúrikoyuvakái* then taught the Indians how to hunt, fish, and grow crops.

The culture hero legends provide a mythical charter for the Terena way of life. The importance of the earth is stressed. The Indians came out of the earth. Agriculture was a male occupation while women spun cotton. The culture hero gave them language, fire, and economic techniques. The cunning necessary to survive in the struggle of life is stressed in the story of the hare stealing fire. The twins, *Yúrikoyuvakái*, were not the creators of the world of animals and men. They were benevolent beings who freed the Indians and taught them the arts of social life.

On the other hand, the Terena have evil spirits in their pantheon of supernatural beings, such as *Vanónu*, *Voropí*, and *Hihíqiuné*. It is curious to note that these mythical monsters are the causes of heavy rains and floods, physical phenomena which occur in the Chaco and which were a real danger to the Terena. Referring to a flood, *ivoyóneti*, we have the following story:

It rained without stopping. It was *Vanónu* speaking from the sky, it was *Vanónu* coming down. The rain covered the field, water was overflowing everywhere. Then there was a shaman who began to sing and shake his gourd rattle, *itáaka*. If *Vanónu* came to the ground everything would be covered with water. The shaman sang telling *Vanónu* to go back into the sky. Then *Vanónu* spoke like thunder, the Indians heard *Vanónu's* voice, but they could not understand him. *Vanónu* was evil and was

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bringing harm to the Indians. The shaman kept on singing. 539
He kept on singing for a long time until *Vanónu's* voice 776
became weaker and weaker and he stopped speaking alto-
gether. When the rain ceased the shaman stopped 773
singing.

Another evil spirit who lives near water and brings storms is *Voropí:*

Voropí is a water spirit. He lives in a tree near the bank of a stream. He is a great serpent with a human face. He does not like human smell and if some person comes near his home he becomes very angry and sends heavy rain, and lightning flashes from his sides. When he is very angry he sends so much rain that people drown. *Voropí* does not like human hair and that is why the Indians in the Chaco pull out their eyebrows, their pubic hair, and why men pull out the hairs on their chins. Bathing in lakes and rivers makes *Voropí* angry.

Hihíaiuné is a female water spirit who lives in the rivers of the Chaco:

Hihíaiuné is a large serpent. She hates menstruating women and people who are mourning for the dead. A menstruating woman must remain indoors and on no account go to a lake or river to wash, for this would anger *Hihíaiuné* who would send the winds *seipoti* and *seiponé* which in turn would bring heavy rains and floods. If a man should have contact with a menstruating woman, he too must avoid water for fear that a flood would destroy his house. To avoid sexual contact menstruating women paint themselves black.

The Terena believed, and still believe, that the 771
affairs of men are directly influenced by spirits, not only by such as *Voropí, Vanónu, and Hihíaiuné* and the ghosts of the dead, but by the souls of living men, animals, plants, and inanimate objects. Sickness, misfortune, and death are caused 775
by spirits and souls of the dead. On the other [753]
hand, success in war, hunting, fishing, farming, [761]
and love-making can be achieved through the assistance of these spiritual entities. People fear the ghosts of the dead, for they sometimes come back to take a relative or friend to the land of the dead. The ghosts of dead shamans are even [756]
more powerful in their influence over human life. The anger of *Voropí, Vanónu,* and *Hihíaiuné* are a threat to life and property. But in addition to these dangers, the souls of people may leave their living bodies or the souls of objects and animals may cause these objects or animals to enter the body, thus bringing about illness or death.

SHAMANISM

Terena shamanism rests on the belief that the 756
world of spirits, ghosts, and souls is open to human

control. This control, however, cannot be exercised by everyone. A long period of training and the knowledge of secret rites is necessary before a person can get into touch with the spirit world. Although many Terena, in the past, practiced sympathetic and contagious magic, it was, however, only the shamans who could operate through the agency of spirits. A properly trained shaman, *koishúmuneti*, would fall into a trance and his soul would visit the ghosts of dead shamans, *Voropí* and *Vanónu*, as well as be in contact with the souls of the living. Every shaman had a special spirit, usually the ghost of a dead shaman, at his service. This ghost would tell the shaman what he wanted to know and would also perform tasks demanded by the shaman. These spirits would appear to the shaman in the form of animals, snakes, or birds while the shaman was in a trance.

To call his special spirit helper a shaman painted his body and face with red and black circles and began to chant and dance. In one hand he held a gourd rattle, *itáaka*, and in the other a bunch of rhea feathers, *ki'pahé*. The *ki'pahé* looks like a feather duster with the handle cut off very short. When contact with the spirit is made the shaman puts his question or makes his request. The rite varies, of course, with the situation, a curing ceremony being different from one in which a lost object is to be discovered. These performances are customarily carried out at night.

The principal function of the shaman is to cure sickness. The Terena have two theories about illness, one that foreign objects enter the body, and second, that the soul of the sick person leaves the body. Foreign objects may be forced to enter the body either through witchcraft as practiced by some living person or by an evil spirit or ghost. Souls, too, are stolen by spirits and can be removed through witchcraft. The task of the shaman is to remove the injurious object or to return the soul to the body.

During a curing ceremony the patient would lie on the floor of a hut and the shaman would dance slowly around him chanting and shaking his gourd rattle. When the shaman fell into a trance and his spirit helper appeared, the spirit would ask, "Why have you called me?" The shaman would answer, "I have called you to tell me why this person is ill and to tell me how I can cure him."

He calls them by name, shaking his *itáaka* and holding his *kĭ'pahá*. If people are present he makes them close their eyes while he is calling the spirits. *"Giahí kaponé neishá vomorí"* (Come to me, look at me), he says. This request, twice repeated, is enough to make the spirits come to him. He then makes his wishes known to the spirits. When he is in contact with the spirits he claims he is in a trance. During trances Eperú says he sometimes visits the Chaco, the place where *Voropí* lives. He says that shamans who get in contact with *Voropí* are able to control rain. On coming out of the trance he tells people where he has been and with whom he has spoken.

When he is curing, the spirits tells him what to do, how to suck the objects out of the patient's body, or what roots and herbs to use. If a snake has bitten a person, he sucks the wound. He says that when a shaman learns how to cure certain diseases, he does not always have to consult the spirits.

Another shaman, Sabino, is said to be able to perform miracles just like the old Terena shamans. People claim that they have seen Sabino make "bichos" come out of his mouth. One of the female shamans is said to be visited by a jaguar spirit. No one has seen the jaguar spirit but they have heard it speaking with the shaman at night.

In addition to the six shamans just mentioned, there are two Indians, Feliciano and Japão, who are said to cure people by blessing them in the Christian fashion. They learned to ask help from the saints when they worked on Brazilian fazendas. These two men, although considered shamans, use Christian saints instead of the ghosts of shamans.

It appears, therefore, that the Terena have adopted Christian beliefs and fitted them into their own pattern of religion. On the other hand, the Brazilians use Terena shamans. Colonel Horta Barbosa, who is in charge of the Indian reservations in this part of Brazil, stated that there are still many active Terena shamans and that one of the female shamans has many Brazilian clients. These "customers" would come long distances to consult her about sickness, lost objects, and matters concerning their personal life. The colonel said that he has no objection to shamanism, but he did object to the Brazilians bringing cane rum to the reservations.

Portuguese. He appears to have made a favorable impression, for the Terena speak about him even today.

When the "Serviço de Proteção aos Indios" established the Post at Bananal in 1916 it brought the Terena together and made Catholic missionary activity among them more effective. Around 1920 the English Protestants appear to have withdrawn their mission. By 1925 American Protestant missionaries, belonging to the South American Indian Mission, had established a mission and school at Bananal where a missionary, a teacher, and a nurse are still active. In 1930 an American branch of the Redemptorist Catholic mission was established at Aquidauana, from where the fathers make periodic visits to the Terena villages.

In addition to the regular activities of the American Protestant and Catholic missionaries, the Brazilian nuns in Aquidauana organize saint's day celebrations among the Indians. A popular saint among the Terena is Saint Sebastian. Being a martyr he is represented bound to a tree with an arrow in his side. The arrow may have something to do with the selection of this saint to serve Indian needs. Among Brazilian Catholics, Saint Sebastian provides protection against hunger, sudden death, and pesta. A month before Saint Sebastian's day the nuns prepare a banner mounted on a staff showing the figure of the saint. This banner is then presented to the village of Ipegue, near Bananal, where the Indians are predominantly Catholic. The Indians begin their procession from Ipegue and after visiting all the Terena villages they end up in Aquidauana on Saint Sebastian's day, where the final celebration takes place.

During the procession the bearer of the banner walks in front, followed by a man playing a violin, two drummers, and, behind these, the singers and the faithful. The procession stops in front of each house and the people sing. The banner bearer then asks shelter for Saint Sebastian. The owner offers shelter and gives alms to every member in the procession. Wherever the procession happens to stop for the night a dance takes place. Some of the money received is spent on food. During the night dancing is periodically interrupted by prayers to Saint Sebastian. The procession continues in this manner until it reaches Aquidauana, where more dancing and praying take place.

/50 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

601 "Hawaiian," after Murdock, (79) and to understand how unlikely
SK7
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[114]

79. Cf. 1951:64. Given the characteristics of this work, we did not deem it necessary to publish and analyze the Terêna kinship tables. The interested reader will find them in Altenfelder, 1949:327-334 and in Oberg, 1949:31.

[62] it was for the traditional social structure to survive, once the group was atomized in such a way as to impede or make overly
178 difficult marriage within the local group. This led, naturally,
621 to an exogamy of the local group, enforced as long as regular
[582] contact among the old aldeas was possible. With the Paraguayan
[648] war--as we shall see in the next chapter--, when these aldeas
[166] were destroyed and their inhabitants scattered among the fazendas that were beginning to arise in large numbers, the
595 old structure no longer had the conditions for its survival. Also to be emphasized with respect to marriage is its monogamous character, combined with polygyny, including its sororal form.
591 Finally, we can say that the ancient Guaná appear to have been
178 matrilocal, despite the fact that the Terêna incline toward
128 bilocality and neolocality. We believe that these indications are sufficient to give an idea of the Guaná-Terêna social structure, before we close this chapter with a brief account of the traditional superstructure.

771 For giving us an outline of Guaná religion, the chroniclers
[175] /51/ provide us with extremely uncertain data. Information
[576] from the middle of the last century indicate that the Guaná "believed in the existence of a great spirit charged with moving the sun," (80) and showed a certain respect for him. (81) But

80. Castelnau, 1949:304.
81. Idem: 240.